THE MARTYR AND THE GULL-TRAP.

THE ALLIES OF THE SOUTH.

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THE MARTYR AND THE GULL-TRAP.

☞Extract from the Washington *Union* (edited by OMAS RITCHIE and EDMUND BURKE) of Wednes-, December 12, 1849:

The House again failed to elect a Speaker. ere were seven more ballotings, in the progress which, Mr. WILLIAM J. BROWN ran up to 109, ting only four votes to elect him.

It depends upon Mr. COBB of Alabama, Mr. MES of South Carolina, (who voted for Mr. WN on Monday, but deserted him on yester-,) *and four of the Free-Soil Democrats*, to decide ther the House of Representatives shall have a nocratic Speaker or not to-day.

Mr. BROWN is admirably qualified to discharge duties of the chair."

rom the same paper:

Mr. WILLIAM J. BROWN, of Indiana, was the rite candidate of the Republican party, during whole session."

rom the Washington *Union* of the 16th Decem- 1849:

For ourselves, we had earnestly wished well to BROWN; and though we held a free conversa- with him on Tuesday, on the position which then occupied, we certainly received not the htest hint of any thing which had passed on nday between himself and the Free-Soilers."

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 13, 1849.

r. STANLY, of North Carolina, rose and said he begged leave to offer, for the consideration the House, the resolution which he would send the Clerk's table.

he resolution was read as follows:

esolved, That the members of the Democratic y be requested to appoint three members to fer with three members of the Whig party, rela- to the choice of proper officers of the House of resentatives.

r. STANLY said he was tired of this long-con- ted struggle. He believed every gentleman in House was tired of it. The resolution which he offered was not one of his own suggesting. suggestion had been made to him by a Demo-, a gentleman of character and patriotic feel-s, who desired to see a stop put to the present te of things—by one who desired to see, as he r. S.) desired to see, the House of Representatives organized, and who had determined, as far as he could, as he (Mr. S.) had determined, that it should be organized. As to any talk of disorganization, the thing was merely ridiculous—he spoke it with all due respect to the other side of the House. There was no danger of that. This Government was not coming to an end yet, no matter what gentlemen might say about Free-Soilism or Wilmot-provisoism. It is all tomfoolery. There was no danger of that. The Union could not be dissolved while HENRY CLAY and THOMAS H. BENTON were in the S. nate, or while old Rough and Ready was at the other end of the avenue.

But he wanted to put a stop to the present state of things, and have somebody to preside over the House of Representatives who was competent (to say nothing of what he thought of the gentleman who had just received a sufficient number within two votes to elect him) to preside over the House of Representatives, who was acceptable to the Democratic party. Their present candidate was not acceptable, as the last result showed. There was something wrong; something "rotten in Denmark," (pointing to the other side.) [Here a voice from the other side—"Better look on your own side of the House."] Mr. S. said, (turning round to his own side,) I do look, with pride and pleasure, at this side, when I see gentlemen who are associated with me here. I can look at them without blushing; but when I look at the other side, I do blush.

I hope, Mr. CLERK, said Mr. S., that the gentlemen on the other side will not interrupt me. It provokes to hasty replies, which I shall regret, and wish to avoid. I desire to say nothing rash, or approaching rashness. But again I tell gentlemen, on the other side, "there is something rotten in Denmark;" and I do not speak lightly when I say so. He had had the honor to be a member of the last Legislature of North Carolina, of which one of his honorable colleagues on the other side of the House was also a member. They had had the fortune, as it turned out, to tie in both branches, and for more than a week were in a disorganized state. They passed resolutions of the character he had sent to the chair; they met and consulted together; and the result was, that the Democratic party selected the Speaker of the Senate, and the Whig party selected the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the other officers were divided among them, as they ought to be, without any quarrelling or particular fuss; and the result was, that the Legislature was more free from a party character than it had ever been since 1829; and that more measures were adopted for the general good—for the benefit of the people of the whole State—and more internal improvements set

afloat, than had been by any Legislature for twenty years. It was improper, however, further to detain the House by reference to the legislation of North Carolina. He wanted, if the Democratic members of this House chose a Speaker, they should take a gentleman entirely satisfactory to them. If they thought the Whig party were not entitled to the Speaker, let them choose one accustomed to preside over deliberative bodies—who was familiar with the rules, and acceptable to the great body of the party—without electioneering, without any of that little trickery which was resorted to in times of high excitement, when they were hard run, and were pressing on, as they supposed, to victory. He had too much regard for them to see them place themselves in that position. He wished to avoid a result which he knew some gentlemen on the other side would regret.

Any gentleman (continued Mr. S.) was very much mistaken, who supposed he would be upon a bed of roses up there, (pointing to the chair.) For him, a little over a dozen votes had been cast, for which he was profoundly grateful; but he begged gentlemen to forbear further to vote for him. He was not fit to preside over this body. Like the late venerable gentleman from Massachusetts, who was no longer among us, (he wished he were now here,) he (Mr. S.) was a great lover of peace in the abstract, but sometimes shared in disorder in practice. He did not aspire to the chair. He wanted an older, an abler hand placed there; and he would venture to say he would see a great trouble to keep order, before four months of the session had passed.

Mr. BAYLY. The remarks of the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. STANLY) demand a response from this side of the House. He has referred to the condition in which we find ourselves—unable to organize and transact the business of the nation. He says that the condition of things existing in this House (which is but a type of the condition of things in the country) gives him no alarm as long as Clay and Benton are in the Senate, and "old Rough and Ready," as he seems to prefer to designate the Chief Magistrate of the nation, is at the other end of the avenue. As long as such is the case, he tells us the Union is safe.

Mr. STANLY. I did not say that the condition of things in the country gave me no alarm.

Mr. BAYLY. I did not impute the remark, that what existed in this House was a type of what existed in the country, to the gentleman. That was my own comment, by parenthesis, and not a quotation of the gentleman. I repeat, that the division and distraction of parties which exists in this House is but a type of what exists in the country at large. And who (asked Mr. B.) is responsible for this? Sir, if I had been asked, in advance, to imagine a course of action upon the part of one of the great parties of this country, which would inevitably have led to such a condition of things, I would have said there exists an absorbing and exciting question of public policy overriding all others, and sectional in its character. Let one of the great parties run a candidate for the Presidency occupying a doubtful position in reference to it; let him allow himself to be supported in each section upon the ground that his views harmonized with theirs; allow himself, for instance, to be supported at the North upon the ground that he was in favor of anti-slavery restrictions by Congress, and at the South as the only hope to shield it from them; allow himself to be elected by the votes of electors with diverse opinions of his views and diverse expectations of his actions;—let him thus be elected; let him keep up this state of uncertainty as to his opinions, and a Congress elected in this state of uncertainty;—let all this happen, and tell me, sir, if any man could anticipate a different posture of affairs than the precise one in which we find ourselves. The bitter fruits which we are tasting is the legitimate product of the tree which the gentleman's party has planted a fostered. I (said Mr. B.) am not taken by su prise. I predicted in advance that the course whi the gentleman's party thought fit to pursue wou lead to the precise result which we have before No one laments it more than I do; but the Dem cratic party certainly are not responsible.

But it was not to reply to this portion of the ge tleman's remarks that I claimed your attentio The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. STANL has said that he can look to his side of the Hou without shame; but that when he looked to th he blushed; that there was something "rotten Denmark." The gentleman has thus, in his pla by this insinuation, given form and importance an imputation which this morning has been whispers circulated through this hall. He insin ates that something improper has taken place tween the Democratic party and the Free-Soile as they are called. Sir, it is such an insinuation the gentleman ought not to make lightly, or which we ought in silence to submit. I flatter m self (said Mr. B.) that the gentlemen on this s of the House would be as little likely as any oth to enter into any arrangement with the party ref red to. I am rejoiced, however, that the gentlem has made the remarks he did. It enables us brand the rumor, in the outset, as it deserves. is hardly necessary for me to say that it has foundation in truth.

Mr. ASHMUN. Will the gentleman from V ginia allow me to put a question to him?

Mr. BAYLY. Certainly.

Mr. ASHMUN. Has not a correspondence tak place between the member from Indiana (M BROWN) and some member of the Free-Soil p ty, in which he has pledged himself to con tute the committees in a manner satisfactory them?

Mr. BAYLY. I know of no such correspo ence. Is the gentleman authorized to say t there has been such an one? If so, what is authority?

Mr. ASHMUN. Common rumor.

Mr. BAYLY. And does not the gentleman kn that common rumor is a common liar? Turn to Mr. BROWN, he said, "Has any such co spondence taken place?"

Mr. BROWN shook his head.

Mr. BAYLY continued. I am authorized to that no such correspondence has taken place. I the gentleman infer that there has been an und standing between this side of the House and Free-Soilers, from the fact that some of th have voted with us? If so, what can be m unfair? The House is in a condition in which impossible for it to be organized, unless they with one of the great parties composing it. G complaint has been made throughout the coun and justly, that we did not organize; thus imp ing that they ought to vote with one or the o of the great parties. Suppose they had offere vote with the gentleman, would he have spur their support? Or would he have considered it would have been quite right in us, in such a c tingency, to have imputed an improper combi tion to them? The gentlemen referred to h their own views to carry out, and they most pr ably will take their own course in doing it. A that a portion, and a portion only, of them h voted with us—which they have all along sho such an unwillingness to do, and when they c now under what appears a necessity—certai does not contaminate us or our candidate for Speakership. We must be judged of by the ch acter of the great body of our party, and no those who are accidentally thrown with us.

Mr. ROOT said he never felt called upon make remarks to this House on account of marks which had been made by any body e and nothing which had fallen from the gentlem

m North Carolina, (Mr. STANLY,) or from the ntleman from Virginia, (Mr. BAYLY,) had in- ced him now to rise. He intended to speak to e resolution of the gentleman from North Caro- a. That resolution contemplated the Whig rty and the Democratic party—those who were full communion with either of those parties, d nobody else, as having some rights here. w he had, and he trusted he should enjoy, the me rights on this floor as any other representa- e of a free people enjoyed. He should claim em, and he should be an ugly customer if they re denied. He did not pretend to speak for her of these parties, but he protested against e kind of bargain and sale contemplated by the olution, which would transfer to them, and them alone, the right of organizing this House. they had the numerical strength, they could do but he protested against any written or parol gain or contract by which these parties, or ner of them, was to organize this House, the exclusion of all others. He represented ther of them. He supposed he would be med a representative of what the gentleman m North Carolina, (Mr. STANLY,) in most re- ctful language, had seen fit to characterize as lmot provisoism, and "tomfoolery of that d." He had no doubt the gentleman had ken the feelings of his heart, when he had ken in that manner; but let him tell that gen- nan, whether his political associates saw fit to him so or not, he ventured to say that nine out ten of those representing the Whig party from North would not, and the others dare not, when ught before their constituents, say that the Wil- t proviso was a humbug and tomfoolery. Let m do so, and you could find in his (Mr. R.'s) tion of the country political graves as thickly ead as the graves of the victims of the cholera those villages over which that pestilence had pt—whose fields would be so full of graves as to ke them look like stone quarries, where there uld not be turf enough for a man to wipe his feet

It was a deep-seated, immovable sentiment, d in the hearts of the northern people. They ed not of disunion, or any thing of that kind; that sentiment they intended should be repre- ed here. They expected that their repre- atives should stand up and speak out on all per occasions; and he hoped that no man de- ied to speak on this or any other subject except n proper occasions. What was this resolution gned for? Why, to carry out the policy of of these parties. What was the policy of the ninistration party, and what was the policy of Democratic party, as represented by the "sole an?" To dodge the Wilmot proviso.

[r. R. yielding for explanation—

[r. BAYLY. I think it due to myself and the se to say, that since I was last up I have had nversation with the gentleman from Indiana, r. BROWN.) I was mistaken in saying that no espondence had taken place between him and Free-Soilers. A correspondence has taken e; but in it he assures me that he had refused ledge himself, and had said no more than that, orming the committees, he would place the nbers of that party in such positions as their ding in the House and the country would seem im to make proper. But the correspondence be produced, and it will speak for itself.

r. STANLY (Mr. ROOT further yielding) said gentleman from Ohio complained that his party not recognised in the resolution. If he had erstood the gentleman from Ohio, a few days e, he had said, in reply to one of his (Mr. S.'s) agues, (Mr. VENABLE,) that it was the busi- of the two great parties to organize; and he ly thought he was following out the gentleman's suggestion in offering this resolution.

r. ROOT (resuming) said the gentleman was mistaken as to one fact—unintentionally, no doubt. The gentleman said that he (Mr. R.) had complained that every other representative than those in full communion with one or the other of the two great parties had been excluded from participation in the arrangement. He (Mr. R.) hoped, so long as God spared his senses, that he never should be represented in any such arrangement. He intended never to be. It was a kind of arrangement in which he did not wish to participate. If it was to be consummated, he hoped it would be in such a way as to preclude the idea that he had had any thing to do with it.

Now, as to his having said the other day that it was the business of the two great parties to organize the House, the gentleman was mistaken; he had drawn a wrong inference. He had said at that time that if there was any thing ridiculous in the scene to which he was referring at that time, it was the fact that some two hundred and twenty members complained of being obstructed in the organization of the House by some eight others; and that he thought, if they were so exceedingly desirous to have an organization of the House, as they professed, it would be an easier matter for two hundred and twenty members to accomplish it than for eight; that if they could only find, among two hundred and twenty Representatives on this floor, one hundred and fifteen patriotic, self-denying, high-minded gentlemen who would unite to accomplish the common object which they professed to hold so near their hearts, why, they could have an organization at any time. That was the substance of what he had then said.

[Mr. ROOT pausing for a moment, several gentlemen sprang to their feet, crying "Mr. Clerk."]

I have not done yet, (said Mr. Root.) We have not the hour rule now.

Now, (he continued,) he would like to know if these two great parties were brought into such a terrible predicament that they could not organize the House without cutting off some of those who happened to differ with them, and depriving them of their rights? He did not know how the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, who had been supported by one of the parties as candidate for Speaker, felt; he did not know but he would be willing to submit his claims to the chair to a committee composed of three Whigs and three Democrats, nor was it a matter of great importance to him how the gentleman felt. But it was as great an outrage upon him, (Mr. R.,) if they deprived him alone of the right to speak, vote, and act upon this question, as it would be to cut off forty, or eighty, or one hundred and twelve from the same right. They had no right to do it; and if they wanted to preserve their character—if they wished to preserve the character of honorable, high-minded Representatives, in his opinion they must say, that in exercising their own own rights, they would not deprive the humblest member on this floor of his. Why, how magnanimous it would look! When they came to make up their jewels, when they came to string up their Whigs and to string up their Democrats, what were they going to do with such gentlemen, as some from Georgia, and some from New York and Ohio? What was going to be the test? Were they, for Whigs, to have those who, in the chaste and classic language of the gentleman from North Carolina, chose to style themselves "original Rough and Ready" men? Why, he should think, from what he had seen, that some of the originals had got tired of it already. Would they admit some of those who bolted at the Philadelphia convention, but came in soon after? Would they admit those who had come in since?—those who did not vote at all?—or those who had voted for Mr. Van Buren, provided they had repented since? They would want all these men, and more, when they came to elect Speaker, in his humble opinion.

The resolution was not specific enough. It ought

to be like a special plea—certain to every intent and particular; they must go on and tell what kind of Whigs were good enough to come in, and just so with the Democracy; he thought they would have just as much trouble in fixing their test.

[Several gentlemen here rose, supposing Mr. R. had concluded, and addressed the Clerk.]

Oh, no! (said Mr. R.,) he had not done yet. [A laugh.] It was not often that the Free-Soil party had the opportunity of being heard, and if this resolution took effect, they were *done*, as far as any influence in the organization of the House was concerned. He did not, however, believe they were going to use up the principles on which they stood. He cared nothing for the party organization in itself; it was the Free-Soil principles for which he went, and he meant to stand up and vindicate them whenever occasion required it.

He warned his friend from North Carolina (Mr. STANLY) that he was placing some of his political associates in a *very peculiar* situation, when he talked about the Wilmot proviso being "tomfoolery."

Mr. BOKEE, (in his seat.) Let them tell of it.

Mr. ROOT replied—Well, he supposed they would. He did not call upon gentlemen to answer; and they would save themselves some breath and trouble by withholding their answers until they were called for.

He hoped, as he had before remarked, that the peculiar exigency of the day and this case would not drive gentlemen to do any thing of which they would repent hereafter. He did not feel that the remarks which had been made in relation to something being "rotten in Denmark" affected him at all. He did not belong to Denmark—not even to the figurative Pickwickian Denmark which had been spoken of. But the gentleman from North Carolina thought there was something rotten in Denmark. They would all be wiser hereafter. He knew nothing about the inducements which had been held out for gentlemen to vote one way or the other. Pledges would not be very strong inducements for him. The best guarantee that he could have would be the good character and known principles of the candidate. He thought pledges coming from a man that could not be trusted without them, might well be distrusted themselves.

It might admit of doubt who would turn out to be the "tomfools" in the end. There is said to be one kind of fish that will bite best at a bare hook. Do you know, sir, what fish that is? I will tell you in confidence. It is the *gudgeon*; but whether there are any gudgeons in this hall, and who they are, I leave for time to tell.

The peculiar state of things in this body at this particular time may, perhaps, be somewhat illustrated by an anecdote which I have heard of one of my countrymen, a member of the universal Yankee nation. He was travelling on a steamboat on the Ohio river, and having made the acquaintance of a fellow-passenger from the lower country, they got up a friendly game of "poker," by way of killing time. After playing for awhile, the Mississippian, in a tone of vexation, exclaimed: "I should really like to know what has become of all the aces. I haven't seen one for half an hour." To which the Yankee replied: "Now would you, *raly*? Wal, *one* on 'em's in your cut sleeve, and 'tother three are in my *bute*." I don't know that any gentleman here has any thing in his coat sleeve, but I do know several gentlemen who wear boots with very long legs to them. If gentlemen should remember this anecdote a week, they may then be able to understand its true application. One thing it does prove, that the Yankees, instead of being the sly, reserved people that some evil-disposed people have represented them to be, are the frankest fellows on earth; and however anxious they may sometimes appear to acquire information, they are always willing to impart it.

Mr. BURT rose and addressed the Clerk, and was recognised by him.

Mr. BROWN, of Indiana, rose at the same moment, and also addressed the Clerk.

Mr. BURT said, he supposed that the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BROWN) desired to speak to the same point to which he (Mr. B.) had himself risen. If so, he would most cheerfully yield the floor to the gentleman, and would be extremely glad to hear him.

The floor having been yielded accordingly—

Mr. BROWN, of Indiana, said that General Taylor, at the time he was a candidate for the office of President of the United States, had repeatedly declared, that if he was elected to that station, he would be the President of the whole country, and not the President of a party. He (Mr. B.) had come on to Washington city, never for a moment dreaming of being a candidate for the Speakership of this House. His health was feeble. There were older and abler men of his own political party, gentlemen who were well versed in parliamentary law, more competent than himself to preside over the deliberations of this body. He had no experience in such matters. He had never made them his study. He had attended the Democratic caucus, and had aided in the nomination of the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. COBB,) for whom the Democratic party in this House had voted seven long days. When the suggestion had been made to him (Mr. B.) that he, occupying middle ground and coming from a free State, would, in all probability, be able to concentrate as great a number of votes as any other individual on the Democratic side of the House, he had received the suggestion with perfect astonishment. He had no wishes—had no desires looking to such an object; nor had he now the vanity to suppose that if the political party to which he belonged had a marked, a decided majority in this House, he should have been selected as their candidate for the Speakership. It was further suggested to him, that during the recent excitement which had existed upon the question of slavery, he had not been a member of Congress. He had not voted upon any of the questions growing out of that subject. He had been a member of the preceding (the twenty-ninth) Congress when the Texas question had been under consideration. Upon that question he had spoken and voted in this hall. His votes stood upon the record. His friends from the South and from the North understood the position he had occupied on that question. Since then, he had repeatedly declared (not being in a position to give any vote) that, whilst he did not entertain a doubt that the great body of the people of the North—both Whigs and Democrats—were opposed to the extension of slavery, yet that he deemed the introduction of that proposition unnecessary and as unfortunate. At that time the country was engaged in the prosecution of a foreign war; and the introduction of the subject into the political contests of the day produced a state of excitement and ill-feeling between the North and the South, which he thought it was the duty of every patriotic mind to deprecate. When the time arrived for the organization of this House, it was found that their friends—for he would not give them the appellation applied to them by the gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. STANLY)—those who would not join the organization of either of the two great political parties at the last Presidential election, held the balance of power here, and that without their votes it would be impossible to elect a presiding officer.

In this state of the case, he first received a letter from the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. HUBBARD.) That gentleman propounded certain questions. He (Mr. B.) did not answer that letter, but took him the record which showed his votes, and speeches he had delivered, giving his views in relation to the slavery question, on the annexation of Texas.

s not then, and did not desire to be considered, in attitude of a candidate for the office of Speaker. er he had received fifty-three votes for that ce, he had been given to understand that these ntlemen—with one of whom, the gentleman from nsylvania, (Mr. WILMOT,) he had long been uainted, and the gentleman from New York, r. KING,) with whom he had served in a former ngress, and who, he believed, had generally voted h him, for they were on the Democratic side of House—desired a conference with him.

That conference took place; and, in the course it, he found that the objection which they had inst voting for him as Speaker—the great ob- tion which had impressed itself on their minds s, that he was selected as the favorite of the th—that the gentleman from North Carolina, in eye, (Mr. VENABLE,) had said that he was dged not to vote for any Wilmot proviso man Speaker, and that he would turn round and vote him. Now, these gentlemen had asked him r. B.) no questions as to what his course would but they expressed the fear which they enter- ed, that, should he be elected Speaker, he would anize the Committees on the District of Colum- , on the Judiciary, and on the Territories, in h a manner as that they should be made up of thern men—that the views and opinions of the ty which these gentlemen represented would be ed in committee; and that there would be no ortunity of presenting their views in committee, no opportunity of bringing them before the se.

n reply to the expression of these fears, he had ed to these gentlemen that he had not made any dges to any individual as to the committee upon ch he should be placed. The gentleman from nsylvania, and the gentleman from New York, frankly and openly expressed their desire to not to be placed on either of these committees. they had asked—all they had expressed a de- to have—was, that the committees which he designated should be so constituted as that y section of the Union might be fairly repre- ted—the Wilmot proviso men, and the anti lmot proviso men. He had stated to these gen- nen that he would so constitute these commit- as that all sections of the Union should be resented. This much he had stated, and by that tion he would abide now. They had asked a representation of all interests and all opinions— ing more. If he had desired to put into the ds of these gentlemen that with which they ght go forth and break the heads of those who ered from them—if he had desired to furnish ortunity and cause of complaint against the th—his policy would be, to constitute these com- tees of southern men, and to take these eight ee-Soil) gentlemen and put them away on the ers of some unimportant committees.

n the subject of slavery in the District of Co- bia, he would ask permission to state to the se the ground which he had taken before his stituents, when he was a candidate for a seat in House.

Mr. BURT interposed, and said that the gentle- n from Indiana (Mr. BROWN) would allow him uggest, that he had yielded the floor to him in r to give him an opportunity of producing the espondence which had been referred to. He r. BURT) wished to see that correspondence. ies from all quarters—"Give us the corre- ndence"—"let him explain"—"the letters,"

]

Mr. BROWN, (continuing.) He would, he said, oduce the letter in a few moments; but, before ng so, he desired to make a very brief expla- on of the position he had occupied before his stituents. [Cries of "Go on"—"the letters,"

]

Mr. BROWN resumed. His competitor for a seat in this House was a Whig, and a strong advocate of the Wilmot proviso. He represented a district where there was a large number—some persons said as high as three or four hundred—of Free-Soil votes, out and out. He did not get these votes, because he would not go so far as his competitor had gone. That gentleman had taken the ground that General Taylor, by his letter, was in favor of the Wilmot proviso, and that if he did not sign a bill incorporating that proviso, it would be because the dough-faces would prevent its going to him. All I said was, that although I believed it to be unnecessary, and although I had heretofore always been opposed to it, and did not expect to vote for it—yet, that I saw no objection to poking the Wilmot proviso to Old Zack, and seeing what he would do with it. He (Mr. B.) was very anxious to see the question settled; although, as he had stated, he himself would always oppose the proviso.

The question came up on the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia. He had said that he was a Democrat—that he did not wish to interfere with the question—but that, if the people of the District of Columbia thought proper to give their suffrages in favor of the abolition of slavery within its limits, he would have no objection to give them an opportunity to vote upon the question, as had been done in Kentucky and some other States of the Union.

With the permission of the House, he would now read the letter.

[During these remarks, and during almost the entire day, great confusion and excitement prevailed through the House, rendering an accurate statement of the proceedings and debates exceedingly difficult. Members did not keep their seats, but gathered in large bodies round the member who held the floor, enhancing greatly the ordinary difficulties of the reporter's duties.]

Mr. BROWN was about to commence reading a letter which he held in his hand.

Some members on both sides of the House, who had retained their seats, called upon the members in the aisles to take their seats.

The CLERK seconded this request, but with no great success.

Mr. BROWN commenced reading his letter of reply to a letter which had been addressed to him by Mr. WILMOT.

Demands were made in different sections of the House, that the Clerk and not the member, should read the letter.

Mr. BROWN expressed confidence that he could make himself heard all over the House.

A call was also made for the reading of the letter to which this letter was a reply, but Mr. BROWN stated that he had not a copy of that letter with him.

Mr. B. said, that before he read the letter, it might be requisite for him to say, that he had said to these gentlemen, as he had said to southern gentlemen, that if a proposition were made, by way of amendment to a Territorial bill, to extend slavery, he, as a Representative from a free district, could not vote for it. And southern men had replied, that they did not expect or ask any such thing.

Mr. B. was again proceeding to read the letter——

Some time was lost in the effort to restore order, and induce members to take their seats.

Mr. McLEAN urged upon the House the propriety of giving the gentleman its silence and attention.

Mr. BROWN now turned to Mr. WILMOT and invited that gentleman to state the substance of the letter he had sent to him. (Mr. B.)

Mr. BAKER suggested that it would be impossible, on account of the ill-health of the gentleman from Indiana, (Mr. BROWN,) that the House should distinctly hear him read.

Mr. BROWN expressed his confidence that he could so read the letter as that it should be heard in

every part of the House, if members would only take their seats.

Mr. WILMOT now rose and addressed the Clerk.

Mr. BROWN yielded the floor for the moment.

Mr. WILMOT said that he had held a conversation with the gentleman from Indiana, (Mr. BROWN,) of which, with the permission of gentlemen, he would state the substance. He (Mr. W.) expressed to that gentleman the conviction, which he honestly entertained, that the public voice, in respect to the great question which now agitated this country, would be stifled in the committees of this House. All that he, and those who were associated with him, asked or desired, was a fair opportunity to give expression to the great public sentiment of the people of the country. They wanted, and they asked, nothing more. All that he and his friends had desired at the hands of the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BROWN) was, that, if he should be elected Speaker of this House, he would so constitute the committees as that they and the constituents whom they represented might be heard in this hall. No stipulation had been entered into, or sought to be entered into, as to the particular men who should be placed on these committees. They desired that the gentleman, if elected, should place upon these committees the best and the ablest men whom the South had sent to represent its interests here, in order that the views of the South might have a full and fair expression through the committees and the halls of Congress. They desired, also, that northern men, holding the opinions of the North, and representing the views of the northern people, should also be heard through the committees and the halls of Congress, and that their views should not be smothered. This was the purport of the conversation.

He addressed a note to the gentleman from Indiana, asking him, substantially, whether, if he was elected Speaker of the House, he would so organize the committees, as to be satisfactory to himself and friends? He (Mr. W.) desired fair utterance should be given to public sentiment. This was, in substance, the only interrogatory he had put. He (Mr. W.) and his friends desired to be satisfied that the constitution of the committees should be such as not to stifle the sentiments, as they believed, of two-thirds of the freemen of this country.

Mr. STEVENS, of Pennsylvania, desired to put a question to his colleague.

Mr. WILMOT yielded the floor for the purpose.

Mr. STEVENS proceeded. The question which he desired to put to his colleague was this—whether, from the verbal intercourse which had taken place between him and the gentleman from Indiana, (Mr. BROWN,) he (Mr. WILMOT) had any reason to believe that the committees would be composed of a majority of members who were in favor of Free-Soil?

Mr. WILMOT. From the verbal conversations which I held with the gentleman from Indiana, I had reason to believe that a majority of these committees would be composed of fair northern men.

[Great laughter over the hall, and applause in some parts.]

Mr. WILMOT, (continuing.) Fair northern men—I say nothing more—and this is the result of inferences drawn by myself from the conversations, and not from any express declaration on the part of the gentleman from Indiana.

[Several voices. Where are the three aces?]

Mr. STANLY (addressing Mr. WILMOT) asked if it was not possible for the House to have a copy of the letter of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. WILMOT. I have not got a copy of the letter.

Mr. INGE desired to put a question to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WILMOT expressed his readiness to answer.

Mr. INGE. I desire to know what the gentl man means by the expression, "fair northe men?"

Mr. WILMOT. Men who should not be p upon the committees from political considerati or attachments to party, and especially to this A ministration; men who would not give their aid stifle the expression of the sentiments of the peop of the North; that is what I mean.

Mr. INGE. Then I do not understand that y mean men committed to the Wilmot proviso?

Mr. WILMOT. No, no further committed tha so far as their action and known opinions might considered as committing them.

Mr. STANLY was understood (though scarce heard amidst the confusion) to inquire of the ge tleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WILMOT) wh that public sentiment was to which he alluded?

Mr. WILMOT. It is, that slavery shall go further.

In reply to another question from Mr. STANLY

Mr. WILMOT said, that I believe to be the se timent of two-thirds of the northern people, as have stated.

Mr. W. was understood also to express his beli that the people of the North were opposed to t slave traffic in the District of Columbia, precise as the people of some of the southern States we opposed to it within their limits, and had ma laws prohibiting it.

Mr. STEVENS. Has the gentleman no co of the letter?

Mr. WILMOT said he had no copy.

Mr. STEVENS desired to know whether the co respondence did not show just the same state things as was known to have existed between ce tain gentlemen and Mr. WINTHROP, previous to t election of the last-named gentleman as Speaker the thirtieth Congress? And he wished to kno also, whether there was any secret article?

Mr. WILMOT. There was no secret article.

Mr. STEVENS again desired to know wheth any thing had taken place more than that whi took place two years ago with Mr. WINTHROP, wh certain gentlemen of this House would not vote f him as Speaker?

Mr. WILMOT again briefly explained the co versation, and remarked that minorities, howev small, were, in accordance with all usage, entitl to be represented. Such was the usage of the Bri ish House of Commons.

He repeated, that he had not a copy of his lette He could only state the substance of it briefly, as had done. The answer of the gentleman from I diana, (Mr. BROWN,) if the House would listen the reading of it, would disclose, substantially, t purport of his (Mr. W.'s) inquiry.

Mr. BROWN resumed the floor.

The CLERK made an effort to restore order in t Hall.

Mr. BROWN. I will read the letter, and th make a brief explanation.

Mr. B. read the letter, which is in the followi words:

WASHINGTON CITY, 10 December, 1849.

DEAR SIR: In answer to yours of this date, I w state that, should I be elected Speaker of the Hou of Representatives, I will constitute the Committe on the District of Columbia, on Territories, and the Judiciary, in such manner as shall be satisfa tory to yourself and your friends. I am a Repr sentative from a Free State, and have always bee opposed to the extension of slavery, and belie that the Federal Government should be relieve from the responsibility of slavery, where they ha the constitutional power to abolish it. I am your truly, W. J. BROWN.

Hon. DAVID WILMOT.*

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*DECEMBER 10, 1849.

DEAR SIR: In the conversation which I had wi

he letter having been read—
Ir. BROWN proceeded to say: Now, I desire to
that in the conversation which I had with the
tleman from Pennsylvania——
Ir. FOWLER interposed to request that the let-
might be again read, as he had not been able to
it.
Ir. BROWN said he had read the letter once.
desired to proceed with his remarks.
Ir. STANLY inquired what was the date of the
er?
he reading of the letter by the Clerk was
called for, and it was read by him from the
k.
Ir. BROWN proceeded to speak.
Ir. BUTLER, of Pennsylvania, asked him to
d the floor for a moment.
Ir. BROWN declined.
Some time was spent in efforts to restore order.]
Ir. B. then said that he would detain the
se but a very few moments longer. It was
per to say that he thought that the gentleman
n Pennsylvania (Mr. WILMOT) had been ex-
nely fair and liberal in his course of conduct.
as also due to himself (Mr. B.) to say, that, for
, he could not consent that the committees of
House should be so constituted as to favor one
ion of country at the expense or to the detri-
nt of another, or so that the voice of any portion
he people, on any great question, should be
ed. Let that question, in all its aspects, be
ught to the light, and let the whole of the peo-
s representatives act and decide upon it. He
stated, in the conservation, that there was a
ve constitutional question pending. Mr. Van
en had expressed his belief that Congress had
power to abolish slavery in the District of Co-
bia; but he had also said that, if a bill having
object in view should be passed, he should feel
self compelled to *veto* it. He (Mr. B.) desired
ee placed upon these committees the ablest law-
s of the South, so that the subject might be fully
fairly investigated. He was no sectional man;
, as God was his judge, if he had been chosen
aker of this House, he would have constituted
se committees in such a manner as to give satis-
ion both to the North and the South. He would
e upon these committees the ablest men, both
m the North and the South.
Ir. B. here paused, and expressed the hope that
House would come to order.
fter a brief space he proceeded:
Ie would now take occasion to tender to his
nds in this House his earnest and sincere thanks
the manner in which he had been sustained,
for the very flattering vote which he had re-
ved. He desired, further, to say, that he wished
withdraw his name.
Some clapping of hands, and other marks of
sfaction.]
Ir. BROWN (continuing.) There may be some
pping yet on the other side of the House. There
be some clapping yet on the other side of the
se before we have done. They are not exactly
of the woods yet. I would scorn to occupy that
ir under circumstances in which my action is
le to misrepresentation. I have always opposed
agitation of this question. I look upon slavery
one of the compromises of the Constitution;
and whilst there is one drop of blood in my veins I will stand by that institution, and sustain it, as guarantied to the South by the Constitution of the United States. And I am gratified that I have it in my power to say, that I represent, in part, a State which will do the same thing. With these remarks I shall yield the floor, remarking only that I hope my friends will look round and unite upon some other gentleman who may meet their desires, and upon whom they can concentrate their votes.

Mr. BURT, who had yielded the floor to the gentleman from Indiana, now resumed it.

He said that he was one of the Representatives from the southern States who had given his vote, with some mistrust, and with great reluctance, to the gentleman who had just taken his seat, (Mr. BROWN.) After that gentleman had become somewhat a candidate for the Speakership, much inquiry and solicitude were manifested as to what the opinions of that gentleman were upon certain subjects. He (Mr. B.) had been spoken to in that connexion, and had communicated with some of his southern friends. He had said to some of them, that inasmuch as the gentleman had been made the prominent candidate by receiving a very large vote on that side of the House, he, (Mr. B.,) as an honorable man, could ask no pledges from him, and would not; and that the gentleman from Indiana, if he was an honorable man, would not give any pledges; therefore, he (Mr. B.) could get no information in that way. But it was due to himself and to his southern friends to say that they had understood the gentleman as standing where the resolution relating to Texas had placed him, not that he was a southern man, but, most distinctly, that he was not a Wilmot proviso man—that he occupied the position of certain gentlemen on both sides of the House upon that question—and, therefore, that he was a fair man, not committed to the South, and not committed to the North. These considerations had induced him (Mr. B.) and many of his southern friends to vote for the gentleman from Indiana. And he begged his honorable friend from Virginia —from the Accomac district—who had more minute information on the subject than he (Mr. B.) possessed, to rise up now and state what communications had been made to him. He referred to Mr. BAYLY.

[Cries on both sides of the House, "Hear BAYLY—hear him."]

Mr. BAYLY. I take pleasure in responding to the inquiries of my friend from South Carolina, (Mr. BURT.) It was known that I had served in the twenty-eighth Congress with the member from Indiana, (Mr. BROWN;) and when he began to be spoken of as Speaker, frequent inquiries were made of me as to his opinions and votes on the slavery question. Among others, such inquiries were made of me by my friend from Georgia, (Mr. WELLBORN.) I told him that no one could have taken a more unexceptionable course. When a gentleman from Massachusetts (the late Speaker of this House, Mr. WINTHROP) had, in 1845, moved an amendment to the Oregon bill containing the principles of the Wilmot proviso, the member from Indiana (Mr. BROWN) voted against it; and that, upon all other occasions, as far as I knew, he had voted with the southern democracy upon all questions touching the subject of slavery. I assured him that no one could present a fairer record. In addition to this, I also informed him that I knew the member while he was in office, and I thought I knew his sentiments well; and that I would pledge myself he was opposed to the agitation of the subject of slavery and the Wilmot proviso in every form and shape in which it could be presented. He (Mr. WELLBORN) suggested to me to have a conversation with the member. I did so. I told him of the pledge I had made for him. He assured me I was perfectly safe in doing so. This remark I repeated to many

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this evening, you were free to say, that if elect-
Speaker of the House of Representatives, you
uld constitute the Committees on Territories, the
liciary, and the District of Columbia, in a man-
that should be satisfactory to myself and the
nds with whom I have had the honor to act. I
e communicated this to my friends; and if, in
ly to this note, you can give them the same as
ance, they will give you a cheerful and cordial
port. Respectfully yours,
Hon. WM. J. BROWN. D. WILMOT.

gentlemen besides my friend from Georgia, (Mr. WELLBORN.)

Having said thus much in response to my friend from South Carolina, (Mr. BURT.) I feel it due to say a word or two in reference to myself. Sir, had I known of the existence and character of the correspondence which has just been read, and of the interviews preceding it, no earthly consideration would have induced me to vote as I did. And I am quite sure that such would have been the feeling of the great mass of the members on this side of the House.

When the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. STANLY) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. ASHMUN) made their remarks, I was highly indignant, as the House saw at the time. I thought their insinuations most unfounded and illiberal. But I rejoice now that they were made, and I thank them for them. They have led to a disclosure to which the country was entitled; and it has been made in time, thank God, to save us from a load of obloquy.

Mr. HARRIS, of Tennessee, (Mr. BURT further yielding,) said he was one of those who had reluctantly voted for the gentleman from Indiana, (Mr. BROWN,) upon three several votings. He had done so, being deceived by the assurances of that gentleman, made to southern gentlemen upon this floor, as to the position which that gentleman occupied. He felt it due to himself and to the constituency which he had the honor to represent upon this floor, to ask of this House (what he had no hope they would grant) for leave to change his vote for Mr. BROWN, and place it upon the record for some gentleman who wore but one face—for some gentleman who is *true*, either to the South or the North; for some gentleman, sir, who is not pointing back with one hand to a record that is favorable to southern views, with an assurance that that record contains and reflects his present views, while at the same moment he is signing a pledge to violate every principle of that record with the other. He therefore asked leave of the House to change his votes, for they had been cast under a misapprehension of the facts in relation to Mr. BROWN's true position, and even then reluctantly.

Mr. BURT resumed the floor, remarking that he had but a word more to say. They had all been assured that the gentleman from Indiana, who had been made so conspicuous on this occasion, was committed against the Wilmot proviso. They had had full assurances of this character from that gentleman and his friends. He ventured to say, if they had known of this correspondence, and the gentleman's answer to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, there was not a southern man in this House but would have regarded it an insult to be asked to vote for him.

Mr. LEVIN next addressed the Clerk, and was recognised, but yielded to

Mr. VENABLE, to whom the floor was given.

[Great confusion prevailed.]

Mr. INGE said he moved to proceed to another voting.

Mr. VENABLE, however, held the right to the floor, and yielded momentarily to

Mr. BROWN, of Indiana, who wished to say one word, that he might not be misunderstood. He said he stood by what he had said to his southern friends to the letter. In reference to the extension of slavery—which he believed none of them asked to be affected by the direct order of Congress—if a distinct proposition, by way of an amendment to a territorial bill, were made in this hall to extend slavery, he should vote against it.

Mr. VENABLE said, I feel it due to myself that I shall be relieved from occupying, apparently, a false position. A day or two ago I declared that in no event could I vote for a Free-Soiler or an Abolitionist. I afterwards voted repeatedly for the gentleman from Indiana, (Mr. BROWN,) and the developments of this morning have disclosed the fact that that gentleman was in correspondence with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, (Mr. WILMOT,) the putative father of the Wilmot proviso, as to the arrangement of the committees. The remarks of the gentleman (Mr. BROWN) himself, in his vindication, disclose his opposition to the extension of slavery, and his willingness to give the people of this District a vote on the subject of slavery. I was ignorant of all these facts; but from a letter received from that gentleman during the late Presidential canvass, I was irresistibly led to the conclusion that he was utterly opposed to Free Soilism in all its aspects. I called on him in the course of the last few days, and before I voted for him, and asked him whether he had changed his opinions on those subjects. He replied in the negative. Had I known the transaction or opinions disclosed this morning, I could not have voted for him; and as soon as the correspondence between him and Mr. WILMOT was acknowledged, I demanded that it should be read. It has been read, and the House and my constituents will see that if I have voted otherwise than I had pledged myself to vote, I have been acting under a misapprehension of facts after due diligence to acquaint myself with them. To be deceived presupposes no dereliction in duty, if proper measures have been adopted to get possession of the truth.

Mr. ROBINSON next addressed the House, saying that he regretted exceedingly that he felt it his duty to take the floor on this occasion, but there appeared to be something like a ground-swell here against his colleague, (Mr. BROWN,) or, at least, a very unnecessary and gratuitous state of excitement against him, which he thought gentlemen who were now foremost in it would regret when they reflected a little. The cause of the excitement—this correspondence—surprised him as much as it did any one else, for he had never heard of it before; but still he saw nothing in it, properly explained, to justify this fierce hunting him down—nothing in it dishonorable or inconsistent with the position he occupied. There is nothing in it justifying the conclusions gentlemen have drawn from it. It discloses no pledge—it does not intimate that my colleague has indicated political sentiments to the Free Soilers which his friends from the South did not know, or have reason to suppose he held.

Gentlemen say they voted for him expecting he was opposed to the Wilmot proviso. Well, is there any thing in this brief correspondence showing that he is not? Not a word of it. He says, it is true that he is opposed to the extension of slavery; and who in a free State is not? There are non-interference men there, to be sure—men who desire to keep this question out of Congress; and I have always understood my colleague to be one of them. His district and mine join each other; and throughout his canvass, I understood he took the non interference ground—was against the Wilmot proviso, but still was against the extension of slavery also.

Gentlemen in the South, even distinguished Senators and others, have expressed themselves against the further extension of slavery; yet they are opposed to any action of Congress, as I understand my colleague is, to prevent it. So much, then, for the allegation as to his provisoism.

A sentence is torn from his letter to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, (Mr. WILMOT,) which isolated and unconnected with any thing else gives color to the idea that he has given a strong pledge to the Free-Soilers; but taken and explained in connexion with the previous verbal communications which passed between them on the same subject, and to which it directly referred and what is it? What does it amount to? My colleague says in his letter, "the committees shall be organized in such a manner as to be satisfactory to you and your friends." Well, now, let us refer to the conversations which had previously passed

ween these gentlemen, to see what would be isfactory. He (Mr. WILMOT) says: "I don't to be placed in any particular position, on any rticular committee, nor do my friends. All we is, that in making up your committees touch- this slavery question, all sections shall be fairly presented. We want the voice of no section or ty stifled or smothered by packing the commit- s." Mr. BROWN answers, "Certainly, all have ight to be heard." Now, suppose a committee s constituted—a majority, for instance, of non- erference men, if you please—and then a mi- ity of proviso men, mixed up with an extreme uthern-address man or two, and a one-idea Free- ler from the North, would not such a committee one which would represent all parties? Or you ght change its order and arrangement, but still mbine the same elements? Now. this is all that colleague is pledged to in this letter, if pledge e. And is there a gentleman here who will say t such a general, and, as it seems to me, uni- sally acceptable sentiment is an improper one? But it seems that this thing of writing letters en a candidate is anomalous, novel—nay, dis- norable. I understood a gentleman from South rolina (Mr. BURT) to say that no honorable man uld ask pledges of a candidate, nor give them. w, the gentleman must differ in his notions of norable conduct from many of his southern nds, for I have understood that several letters e been written by southern gentlemen to north- men, whose names were used in connexion h the Speakership, propounding certain inter- atories in reference to the slave question, and tinctly making a satisfactory answer to them a *e qua non* to their votes. This has been done re- tedly since we attempted to organize this use.

This is quite a new idea to me, that it is improper a man when a candidate to answer questions. It y be *impolitic*, but certainly not dishonorable; though this is the first I ever heard of this let- , and though I think my colleague acted impru- ntly in writing it, still there is, I must insist and eat, nothing in it. taken in connexion with the vious conversation to which it alluded, and to ich both he and the gentleman from Pennsylva- (Mr. WILMOT) testify, that justifies the im- tation of duplicity, deceit, or dishonor.

Mr. BURT explained that what he had said was, t when a gentleman was placed prominently be- e the House as a candidate for Speaker, as an norable man he would ask no pledges from him, d he, as an honorable man, could give none. adhered to that position. Certainly the gentle- n from Indiana did not mean to intimate that he r. B.) had ever addressed a letter of this de- iption to any body.

Mr. ROBINSON was understood to disclaim any h intention.

Mr. STANTON obtained the floor, and yielded explanation to

Mr. WOODWARD, who said he was one of those o thought they might put a question to a can- ate as to his political creed; but he sustained gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BROWN) in the sition which had been taken by him, that he uld give no pledges as to the manner in which would constitute the committees, in case he uld be elected. That, he apprehended, was at his colleague (Mr. BURT) meant; not that he uld conceal his political principles, but that he uld give no pledge as to the manner in which he uld constitute the committees. He sustained the ntleman from Indiana in that position. He thought was an honorable one.

Mr. HUBBARD (Mr. STANTON further yielding floor) said that it was he who had addressed the ter to the gentleman from Indiana which had en referred to. He had only required non-inter- ence—nothing more. And he preferred a man from the North, that they (the South) might show that they were willing to offer something on the altar of our common Union. He had made that declaration to his constituents at home, and, after his arrival here, he had addressed the gentleman from Indiana a letter requesting that he would call upon him. The gentleman came, and showed him the record of his past course. With that he (Mr. H.) was satisfied. The gentleman said something in reference to what would be his course in appoint- ing the committees. He (Mr. H.) had told him he wanted to hear nothing about that; that he did not believe any man deserved a place on the floor who would require to know how the commit- tees should be constituted before he gave his vote. He did expect, however, when the gentleman from Indiana became a candidate, and consented to address others, he would have furnished him (Mr. H.) with a copy of what he had written to Mr. WIL- MOT. He (Mr. H.) had addressed the letter to the gentleman, and only asked non-interference.

Mr. STANTON, of Tennessee, said: No man can regret more than I do the necessity for this discus- sion. But I do not regret, since the facts existed, that they have been brought to light. I feel it in- cumbent upon me, sir, to say one word in explana- tion. I am unfortunately among those who voted for the gentleman from Indiana—even "to the bit- ter end." Like all those gentlemen from the South who gave him the same support, I had assurances, that in his canvass before the people he had boldly taken ground against that measure, which has pro- duced all our difficulties, and exposed the Union itself to such imminent danger. I did not, for one moment, deem it possible that he could seek an al- liance with the authors of this mischief—much less, that he could descend to the point of promising them all they demanded. I feel, sir, that the odium of this transaction, however unjustly, will in some measure fall upon myself, in common with the whole South. I desire to throw off this odium; and I deem it a complete justification to say, that I could never have supported that gentleman if I had entertained the least suspicion of such a transaction as that which has been disclosed. I gave to the gentleman a "generous confidence;" I leave it to the country to say whether that confidence has not been abused.

I have but one word more to say. It is, that I feel myself, in common with every southern gen- tleman in the same position, deeply indebted to those few gentlemen on this side of the House, who had the courage, and the foresight, so far to break party ties as to arrest the election of the gentleman from Indiana. I take this occasion publicly to ex- press my thanks to those gentlemen, for having thus prevented the abominable consummation which was so near being effected.

Mr. McMULLEN said he regretted exceedingly to throw himself before this House, it being the first time in his life in which he had attempted to say a word in a deliberative assembly. But having been called upon by the gentleman from Maryland, (Mr. EVANS,) he felt it due not only to that gentleman, but to himself and his constituents, that he should respond to the interrogatory of the gentleman. Anxious as he was to see the House of Representa- tives organized, he had had his fears as to the gen- tleman from Indiana, on this great question. But these fears had been allayed by conversations which he had held with various gentlemen from the South. They could judge, then, what was his astonishment upon hearing the rumor last night, at the National hotel, that the gentleman from Indiana had given some pledges to these very distinguished Free-Soil gentlemen. He (Mr. McM.) had then remarked to a gentleman that, if he could satisfy himself of that fact, he was one man from the South who would not vote for the gentleman from Indiana. He had then been introduced to the gentleman. He did not satisfy him that the charge was unfounded, but said that he would bring proofs to him (Mr. McM.)

this morning. These proofs had not been produced, and his (Mr. McM.'s) mind not being satisfied, he claimed his privilege as an humble member, being called upon to cast his vote, to interrogate the gentleman from Indiana. He had stated to him that he was charged by Madame Rumor with having given a pledge to the Free-Soil gentlemen, that, in the event of his being elected Speaker, they should be taken care of. The gentleman stated that those gentlemen had called upon him, and that he had said to them that he could give no pledge in advance of his election, except that, in the organization of the Committee on the District of Columbia and other committees, he would endeavor to place each gentleman where he ought to stand; or, in other words, that he would place gentlemen upon the respective committees according to their respective talents and standing. He was pleased to hear that declaration from the gentleman. He had then asked him if he had given any written pledge to these gentlemen, and had received the reply that he had not. Afterwards, in conversation with his colleague, (Mr. BAYLY,) he (Mr. McM.) had told him that he need have no fears upon this subject; that he had had a conversation with the gentleman from Indiana.

He repeated his regret that he had been called out in this unexpected way; but he had considered this statement due to his colleague, to this House, and, more especially, to his constituents. He therefore begged pardon for having trespassed upon the time of the House. If he had a hope of his request being granted, he would most assuredly adopt the course of the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. THOMAS,) and ask leave of the House to change his vote. But he knew, under the Parliamentary law, he had not that right. When the time came, however, for another vote, he would show to the House and the country where he would stand.

Mr. BROWN, of Indiana, desired to say, in reference to a remark of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. MCMULLEN,) that he had never made any pledge as to what place he would assign gentlemen in constituting the committees, in case he were elected Speaker.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Mississippi, rose and said, that whilst he felt deeply mortified at the occurrence which had taken place, yet he regarded it as better that these developments should have been made before the House had come to a final result, rather than afterwards. He thought the House was not sufficiently composed to make any further efforts towards organization to day; that it was not prepared to go on further with the business at this time; and he hoped that, by general consent, an adjournment would be agreed to.

Objections were made.

Mr. T. submitted the motion that the House adjourn until to-morrow, at twelve o'clock.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Kentucky, demanded tellers.

Mr. DUNHAM appealed to Mr. THOMPSON, of Mississippi, to withdraw the motion to adjourn for a few minutes, to enable him (Mr. D.) to say a few words.

After some hesitation, Mr. T. withdrew the motion, on the pledge of Mr. DUNHAM to renew it.

Mr. DUNHAM then said: I had not expected, Mr. Clerk, to mingle in this discussion, if discussion it may be called, nor do I wish, in the least, to add to this, in my opinion, uncalled-for excitement; but I cannot sit idly by and hear my colleague reproached with improper conduct in this matter, denounced as an Abolitionist and a Free-Soiler, and this transaction stigmatized as dishonorable, without at least expressing a wish that gentlemen from the South will be a little more specific in their charges and denunciations. I think it is high time we should know exactly wherein this transaction is by them considered dishonorable—what it takes, in their opinion, to make a Free-Soiler—an Abolitionist. Is it dishonorable for a gentleman who is a candidate for a high office when addressed a letter by another gentleman of equal respectability, who wishes to give him his vote, in reference to the manner in which the duties of that office are to be discharged, to give a respectful answer?

Mr. KAUFMAN. Will the gentleman from Indiana allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. DUNHAM. Certainly, sir.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Does the gentleman from Indiana consider it honorable for a gentleman who is a candidate for a high office, in which different portions of the Union, embracing different interests are interested, to make distinct pledges to the representatives of one portion, and deny or conceal such pledges from those of another?

Mr. DUNHAM. It is a sufficient answer for me to say, that I have yet to learn that the development hitherto made, or which can be made, shows such a case. What improper pledge is contained in this letter? I will admit, if you separate it from the conversation between the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WILMOT) and my colleague, which preceded it, out of which it grew and which properly and rightfully forms its context—if you isolate it, you may torture from it a meaning it was never intended to bear. But I ask gentlemen if this is fair? Is it right? Is it the way in which, in our courts of justice, in the ordinary transactions in life, written instruments or verbal conversations are construed? Here is where I think the gentlemen from the South have gone astray and have done my colleague (unintentionally, I presume) gross injustice.

When you take this letter in connexion with that conversation, I defy the gentleman to point out any impropriety in the assurances there given. That conversation, as shown by both gentlemen, amounted to this: The gentleman from Pennsylvania complained that the House had always hitherto been so organized, and the committees thereof so arranged, that the opinions and sentiments entertained by himself and those acting with him had been stifled, and never been permitted to be fairly heard upon this floor, to go out from here to the world; that all they asked was, not that committees should be so arranged as that a *majority* even should be favorable to these views, *but simply that the committees should be fairly constituted;* that those entertaining such opinions should be placed upon committees in proportion to their numbers and according to their relative position in the House; that in their arrangement every portion of the Union should be fairly and rightfully represented, and have a chance to be heard upon this floor. *With this they would be satisfied.* Mark the language, for this is the key to the true meaning of this letter. To all this, what could, what ought my colleague, as an honorable man, as a national man—which I know him to be in feeling—to reply, other than what he did, that this request was but just and reasonable? Now, sir, it was this conversation which gave rise to this letter.

Mr. KAUFMAN. If the letter of the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BROWN) had corresponded with the alleged conversation, or if he had pledged himself to so constitute the committees that *all* the great interests of the country would be represented, no honorable man would have objected; but to pledge himself secretly "to constitute the committees so as to be satisfactory to Mr. WILMOT and his friends," a small squad of some eight or ten disorganizers, making no written reservation in favor of the rights or interests of any other party or section of the Union, is an insult to those who extended to him their confidence not to be patiently endured.

Mr. DUNHAM. The gentleman from Pennsylvania addressed him a letter, simply interrogating him whether, in case of his election to the Speakership, he would carry out these principles. He or

is point merely replies in this letter, that "should be elected he will so constitute the committees the District of Columbia, the Territories, and e Judiciary, in such a manner as would be satisctory to the gentleman from Pennsylvania and s friends." Now, sir, what does this assurance nount to? Can any one doubt for a moment that, nen my colleague penned that sentence, he had his mind the conversation to which I have before luded? Does any one doubt that at the time he lieved that all that would be necessary to satisfy at gentleman and his friends would be to so contute the committees of this House that every porn of the people of this Union might in them be rly represented, and have an opportunity to be rly heard? Then, sir, I ask gentlemen if in this te my colleague has undertaken to do, should be elected, any thing more than, as an honest d an upright man, as a true republican, he would ve been bound to do, had no assurances been ven? I should like to know, sir, if there is a man on this floor who dare rise in his place, and the face of the American people say he wishes is House so organized, these committees so conituted, that a portion of the people shall have eir opinions stifled in this House; that they shall t be heard here, and that they shall not be pertted to give their opinions to their countrymen on this floor; in short, sir, that they shall be ostraed in the halls of their National Legislature? , there is not a man here that dare do it.

Then, sir, as to the Abolitionism which has been charged to my colleague——

Mr. KAUFMAN. We do not charge him with Abolitionism or Free-Soilism, but with duplicity.

Mr. DUNHAM. I beg the gentleman's pardon; but if the charge of Abolitionism has not been repeatedly made on this floor, I have very much misheard. But if the gentlemen disclaim those charges, I do not wish to pursue the subject. I have no disposition to speak for the sake of hearing myself. I am but a young man, sir; this is my first appearance upon this floor. I should not have spoken at all, had I not felt it to be my imperative duty to do so. I was about simply to add, that if to be in principle opposed to the institution of slavery, and to its extension—if to claim for Congress the right to exercise its discretion in the control of that institution, where the Constitution clearly gives that right, and at the same time to entertain a disposition not unnecessarily to agitate the subject—a determination to stand firmly and sacredly by the compromises of the Constitution—makes a man an Abolitionist, I can assure the gentlemen they will find many Abolitionists in this Union.

In redemption of his pledge, Mr. D. then moved that the House adjourn.

The yeas and nays were asked on the motion to adjourn, and were refused.

And the question having been then taken, and decided in the affirmative—

The House adjourned until to-morrow, 12 o'clock.

APPENDIX.

The following named gentlemen voted for Mr. M. J. BROWN for Speaker:

Messrs. Albertson, Allen, Ashe, Averett, Bay, yly, Beale, Bingham, Bissell, Booth, Bown, Bowling, Boyd, Albert G. Brown, Buel, Burt, seph Cable, George Alfred Caldwell, Carter, eveland, Howell Cobb, Colcock, Daniel, Dimck, Disney, Doty, Dunham, Durkee, Edmundn, Ewing, Featherston, Fitch, Fuller, Gerry, Gidngs, Gilmore, Gorman, Green, Hackett, Hall, milton, Hammond, Haralson, Harlan, Harmann, Isham G. Harris, Sampson W. Harris, Thos. Harris, Hibbard, Hoagland, Holliday, Howard, bbard, Inge, Andrew Johnson, Robert W. Johnn, Kaufman, Preston King, LaSère, Leffler, Litfield, Job Mann, Mason, McClernand, McDonl, McDowell, McLanahan, R. M. McLane, Mcallen, McQueen, McWillie, Meade, Miller, Millin, Morris, Morse, Olds, Orr, Parker, Peaslee, ck, Phelps, Potter, Powell, Richardson, Robbins, binson, Ross, Savage, Sawtelle, Frederick P. nton, Richard H. Stanton, Stetson, Strong, eetzer, Thomas, Jacob Thompson, Jas. Thompn, William Thompson, Venable, Walden, Waldo, ellborn, Wentworth, Whittlesey, Wildrick, Wilt, Wood, Woodward, and Young.—*Congressional Globe, Dec.* 15.

[After the roll was called, Mr. BROWN wanting ly two votes of being elected—Messrs. BOCOCK, DDON, and WALLACE "smelt a rat," and voted LINN BOYD.]

Extract from the Washington *Union* of Thursy, August 9, 1849:

"The Democrats in North Carolina and Tennesve have put forth great and irrepressible power. glorious victory seems, so far, to attend their exions; and we hear this moment, by a telegraphie despatch from the office of the Western legraph Company, that W. J. BROWN has been ected to Congress in Indiana by 1,500 majority—*e same able and indomitable Brown who was recently ssistant Postmaster General in Washington, and whom a merciless cabal had destined to the block,*" &c. &c.

From the Union of Thursday, Dec. 13, 1849.

"We spoke yesterday of Mr. BROWN being 'admirably qualified to discharge the duties of the chair.' We regret deeply, and sincerely disapprove the position in which he has placed himself. We had hoped to hail him as Speaker of the House. We had regarded him as a politician who was perfectly satisfactory to the South, and yet so fair in his principles, and so firm in his course, that he would, as a citizen of the whole country, as attached to the Union and all her great interests, do full justice, in the designation of the committees and in the administration of the powers of the chair, to all parts of the nation, and to every member."

NOTE.—Mr. WM. J. BROWN was four years Assistant Postmaster General, under Mr. Polk, and, with Mr. H. S. FOOTE, Senator from Mississippi, and EDMUND BURKE, (then Commissioner of the Patent Office, and now editor of the *Union*,) was one of the Executive Committee designated by the National Democratic Committee at the Baltimore Convention, to serve as an Executive Committee at Washington.

Extract (from the Executive "Committee at Washington") from a circular letter dated Washington city, June 24, 1848:

"Should the Whigs at the North fraternize with the Abolitionists, that fact should be exposed at the South, to prevent them representing to the people that they are the only safeguards of her peculiar interests.

"H. S. FOOTE,
"EDMUND BURKE,
"W. J. BROWN."

After Mr. BROWN *resigned* the office of Second Assistant Postmaster General, the *Union* said:

"*The first head off.*—Mr. WILLIAM J. BROWN, Second Assistant Postmaster General, has the honor of being the first martyr; he was a most efficient officer in the department, and a gentleman of decided abilities," &c.

ORDER TRIUMPHANT OVER FACTION.

CAUCUS PROCEEDINGS.

FRIDAY MORNING, Dec. 21, 1849.

n the room of the Speaker of the House of Rep-entatives.

t a meeting of the Whig and Democratic com-tees, all the members being present, viz: Hugh ite, N. Y.; C. M. Conrad, of La.; Daniel Breck, ., Samuel F. Vinton, Ohio; Edward Stanly, N. George Ashmun, Mass.—on the part of the igs; and Frederick P. Stanton, Tenn.; James mpson, Penn.; Thomas H. Bayly, Va.; John McClernand, Ill.; Sampson W. Harris, of Ala.; Emery D. Potter, of Ohio:

Ir. Edward Stanly was appointed secretary on part of the Whigs, and Mr. John A. McCler-d on the part of the Democrats.

Whereupon the following proposition was sub-ted on the part of the Whig committee by Mr. ton:

Resolved, That the House do on to-morrow pro-d to the election of a Speaker, *viva voce*, and if, r the roll shall have been called three times, no mber shall have received a majority of the le number of votes, the roll shall again be ed, and the member who shall then receive the gest number of votes, provided it be a majority quorum, shall be declared to be chosen Speaker.

Whereupon the committee of the Democratic cus retired for consultation, and shortly after rned the following answer:

"The committee on the part of the Democratic cus have considered the proposition made on part of the committee of the Whig caucus, and e agreed to submit it to a meeting of the Demo-ts to be held this evening for their action. The result will be communicated as soon as a decision shall be made.

FRED. P. STANTON, Chairman."

Upon the receipt of which the committee on the part of the Whigs retired for consultation, and returned the following answer:

"The committee on the part of the Whigs having received the answer from the Democratic committee, will respectfully await the communication of which assurance is given.

HUGH WHITE, Chairman."

Upon which the meeting adjourned to meet again to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

SATURDAY MORNING, Dec. 22, 1849.

The committee on the part of the Whigs met according to adjournment, when Mr. Frederick P. Stanton, Chairman of the Democratic committee, returned the following answer, in accordance with their assurances made to the Whig committee yesterday:

"The Democratic caucus have instructed their committee respectfully to decline the proposition of the Whig committee, and this committee having been discharged from the further consideration of the subject, are not authorized to entertain any other proposition. FRED. P. STANTON,

Chairman Dem. Com."

SATURDAY, 22d Dec., 1849.

Attest: HUGH WHITE, Chairman, &c.

FRED. P. STANTON, Chairman, &c.

EDWARD STANLY, Sec'y W. C.

JOHN A. MCCLERNAND, Sec'y D. C.